

## The Sun

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## A Little Anti-Bryan History.

Now that the shock incident to the recent BRYAN uprising against the honor and stability of the country has passed away, it may be well for all citizens to consider its origin, and particularly for a certain number of those who contributed most earnestly to its defeat. After a patient has been successfully pulled through a disease but little known and totally unexpected in his neighborhood, a careful study of its cause and nature will be the best fortification against the recurrence of another attack.

The recent revelation that the traditional bulwark of our political and social institutions, the Democratic party, had been perverted to populism and to hostility toward the doctrines of which it had been the earliest champion and unfailing defender, came to many people as a greater surprise than the South's revolt against the Government thirty-five years ago. As a matter of fact, the BRYAN campaign, in which particular weight must be attributed to the elements of downright anarchy represented by ALTHEA and DEBS, was a wholly natural issue of an agitation which began somewhat more than four years ago, on BRYAN's and DEBS's lines, precisely. During that time, moreover, the chief agitator was the focus of an adoration for imaginary virtues similar to that offered to BRYAN by the fanatics following him, only greater. It is to their credit that many of the worshippers of the former class have now been numbered among BRYAN's most resolute enemies.

The long and short of it is that whoever will take a full collection of GROVER CLEVELAND's public documents and utterances, will find in abundant number the models of the BRYAN orators' most extravagant denunciations of capital, and incidents of class against class, and even something more. DEBS is there in a blunder and more execrable form than he appeared at Chicago. CLEVELAND, when a candidate for President, plunged into an abyss of shame which even BRYAN shrank from. No championing of DEBS and his acts on BRYAN's part at any time while the latter was striving to get himself elected, was so direct, so base, and so demoralizing a ratification of atrocious lawlessness as was a passage of Mr. CLEVELAND's speech in Madison Square Garden accepting the nomination for President in 1892. Then he extended the hand of fellowship and sympathy to the criminals of Homestead, guilty as they were of deliberate murder, and of assailing the inmost defense of property and the foundations of civilization. Moreover, between demagogic cant and denunciation of our social institutions emitted by an eccentric candidate and those emitted by the President, the Chief Magistrate of the country, no comparison is possible. In working up the spirit of discontent and destruction, CLEVELAND has been vastly more influential than BRYAN.

Even these disgusting records of self-seeking demagoguery, a novelty in the White House, do not adequately give Mr. CLEVELAND's contribution to the late fearful disturbance of politics, from which every patriotic American Democrat is to-day devoutly thankful the country has been rescued. Besides the enormous debt of the Democratic organization given during Mr. CLEVELAND's present term, by his own and his immediate followers' utter repudiation of the party's tariff plank and pledges, and by his treacherous insertion of the communistic income tax into the Democratic programme, the socialistic movement of 1896 derived an immense amount of its moving spirit from the very method chosen by the Administration for the necessary achievement of maintaining inviolate the country's recognized standard of money. Executing this manifest public duty in a characteristic spirit of self-absorption, President CLEVELAND sold \$200,000,000 of United States bonds for the declared purpose of maintaining the gold standard, when honest dealing with the public demanded an official statement that more than half of the sum was needed, and was used to meet the deficiency in the Federal revenues. Nothing so infamous a vast number of voters who followed BRYAN in the belief that the Administration's statement was true, or so inspired and strengthened the Populistic canvaas, as these sales of bonds.

A fair study of the events preceding BRYAN, will lessen the surprise at his dangerous campaign, will put various poorly appreciated facts of recent history into their proper places, and open the eyes of a number of citizens of responsibility whose blindness and infatuation have contributed in a scarcely credible degree toward bringing the country to the grave peril it has just escaped from. When all eyes are open to the truth, the republic will be much safer than it is at present.

## Some Aspects of the Venezuela Agreement.

Through statements made apparently on good authority in Washington, something seems at last to be definitely known regarding the method of settling the Venezuela controversy agreed upon by our State Department and the British Foreign Office. Lord SALISBURY has assented to two demands which he originally refused, and which our Copperheads and Outlanders warmly commended him for refusing. He has recognized that the Monroe doctrine gives us the right to interpose as the next friend of any American republic threatened with dismemberment of territory. He has also promised that the title to the sovereignty over not only the lands west of the bogus Schomburgk line, but also those east of it and stretching as far as the Essequibo, shall be determined by a court of arbitration. The provision that private titles to real estate shall be recognized, provided a claimant can prove continuous occupation for fifty years, is a concession of no practical value to England, for, as a British traveler in the disputed terri-

tory lately pointed out in one of the London monthly reviews, there is not, probably, a dozen British subjects west of the Essequibo who can profit by the so-called concession to their private rights.

Two points, however, remain to be cleared up, and they relate to the specific kind of arbitration proposed: First, is the part reserved to Venezuela in the arbitration proceedings a part worthy of an independent sovereign State? Secondly, is that part reconcilable with the Venezuelan Constitution? It must be remembered that President CLEVELAND said in his well-known message, and Secretary OLNEY repeated in a despatch, that unless Great Britain would acquiesce in Venezuela's proposal of arbitration, the United States would assist their sister republic in repelling aggression by force, provided, after examination by an American Commission, her claim should seem to be valid on its face. The arbitration upon which Messrs. CLEVELAND and OLNEY insisted was one in which the two principal parties were to be equally represented. The United States do not constitute one of those principal parties, and whether they can or should be subordinated for one of them by the act of the Caracas Executive and Legislature, is the question which we now propose to discuss.

Before the projected court of arbitration can convene, there must be, of course, a preliminary treaty between the two principal parties, Great Britain and Venezuela, whereby each binds itself to submit to the judgment of the arbitrator. Such a treaty was signed by President CLEVELAND and the British Minister, Lord Salisbury, at Washington, on the 12th of October last. It is a treaty which, for it would be ultra vires. The Constitution of Venezuela provides that no treaty affecting constitutional questions, among which the integrity of the national territory is obviously included, can be made without the assent of the Legislature. The Caracas Legislature will not meet until February, and we may well doubt whether it will eagerly and promptly consent to submit a matter in which the interests and honor of a sovereign State are deeply involved, to a Board on which Venezuela, although one of the two principal parties, is to be unrepresented by any of her citizens.

Suppose, however, that, incensed by President CLEVELAND's attitude, the Caracas Legislature should eventually sanction the requisite preliminary treaty whereby Venezuela would covenant to abide by the decision of a Board made up of two British and two American arbitrators, and of an umpire agreed upon by Great Britain and the United States. Would the mass of the Venezuelan people regard as binding the adverse decision of a Board thus constituted, a Board which might be biased against them in advance? Or would they rise in rebellion, overthrow the CRESPO Government, and repudiate the arbitration treaty with the great nation that it was a violation of the national honor, and a dishonorable organic law, which forbids the alienation, under any pretext, of an inch of the national territory? It is true that the Venezuelan Constitution does not forbid the Executive and Legislature to take the necessary and proper steps to ascertain and define what the national territory actually is. Among those steps the reference of a boundary controversy to arbitration is undoubtedly included. For many years have the Caracas authorities endeavored to take this step, and no one has ever disputed its constitutionality. But the court of arbitration which they have demanded was one wherein their country was to have the equal representation that belongs to an independent commonwealth.

Can a sovereign nation accept a definition of its own citizens have had nothing to do with the defining? Would the United States permit its boundaries to be fixed by a tribunal on which no American citizen was permitted to sit? The question answers itself. It is true that if the court of arbitration should sustain Venezuela's unmet claim by awarding to her all the territory west of the Essequibo, the Venezuelans would have no substantial ground of complaint. Even then, indeed, they might reasonably feel that a slight had been put upon their national dignity by a Government professing to act as their next friend, but they could not allege that they had suffered any territorial mutilation. Should, on the other hand, the award of the arbitrators fall short of Venezuela's territorial claim, how can the Caracas Government submit to the loss of a dismembered section without provoking a revolution? How can Señor CRESPO and his friends pretend that they are merely acquiescing in a new definition of the national territory when no representative of Venezuela has taken part in the defining process?

If two members of our Federal Supreme Court or any other citizens of the United States are to sit on the projected Board of Arbitrators, they should at all events receive their commissions from the Caracas Government. In view, however, of the possible refusal of the Venezuelans to accept an adversarial award from a Board thus constituted, it would be better that one, if not two, of the arbitrators should be natives of Venezuela.

## The Fleet for the Gulf.

There can be little doubt that the settlement of the Venezuelan boundary controversy increases the probability of a winter cruise of the North Atlantic Squadron in Gulf waters.

Such a cruise is a regular part of the year's training, except when pressing duties call the squadron elsewhere, and its detention at Hampton Roads, after the last cruise had been planned, was due to the dispute with England more than to any other cause. There is certainly nothing in the affairs of Cuba to induce the squadron to forego its customary winter exercises in tropical waters. Indeed, as we already have the Raleigh and the revenue cutters on the Florida coast enforcing our neutrality laws, to the advantage of Spain and the detriment of the Cuban patriots, the Madrid authorities could not complain of our having still larger forces available in that region.

On the other hand, if there is anything in the idea which seems to have occurred to some officers, that Spain might be foolish enough to declare war against the United States, the readiness of our fleet becomes of the highest moment. It seems almost incredible that, when she cannot make head against the insurgents of a single island, without a ship or a seaport to aid herself by throwing the tremendous weight of the United States into the adverse scale. Still, if she really thinks that popular clamor may be satisfied by treating the escape of men and munitions from our country to Cuba as a cause of war, and that the surrender of that island would be a disgraceful and that yielding it to the insurgents, we must prepare for such course. Certainly it is that the repairs and alterations contemplated for Admiral Buxton's fleet have been reduced to whatever is needed

for sea service and can be completed by the end of the present month. Early in December we may expect the assembling of the fleet at Hampton Roads, and a little later its winter cruise to the Gulf.

We hazard nothing in saying that the fleet thus gathered will be by far the most powerful array of modern steel vessels ever which our flag has ever floated. Beginning with the battle ships, these include the two 10,988-ton Indiana and Massachusetts, carrying 18-inch armor on the sides and 17-inch, at the maximum, on the barbettes, and each armed with four 18-inch, eight 8-inch, and four 6-inch rifles and 30 secondary pieces; the 6,082-ton Maine, with 12-inch armor and four 10-inch and six 8-inch guns and 19 secondary pieces; the Texas, of 6,315 tons, 12-inch plating, and two 12-inch and six 8-inch guns, with 24 smaller pieces.

The monitor division will have at its head the powerful 6,000-ton Puritan, with 14-inch armor on its barbettes and sides, and four 12-inch and six 4-inch guns, with a dozen smaller pieces; the 3,990-ton Terror, Amphitrite and Miantonomoh, with four 10-inch guns and eight smaller pieces, the Amphitrite also carrying two 4-inch guns.

Then there are two armored cruisers, the Brooklyn and New York, the former of 9,271 tons and carrying eight 8-inch and twelve 6-inch guns, with twenty-two smaller pieces, while the New York, of 8,800 tons, carries six 8-inch and twelve 4-inch guns and sixteen smaller pieces; two armored cruisers, the Raleigh and the Albany, with 10-inch armor, and two 12-inch and six 4-inch guns, with a dozen smaller pieces; the Raleigh, of 8,213 tons and eleven guns in her main battery, is already in Gulf waters, and of course can be added to the list.

It is said that the Vesuvius, in commission for the purpose of joining Admiral Buxton, and that, if necessary, the gunboat Castine, which has returned from Montevideo, would be available. 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